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ABSTRACT

This paper employs the time-geographic perspective to analyze the choices made in residential relocation. According to the author, the motivation of residents to make their homes in an urban or suburban environment is determined chiefly by how geographically convenient the location is, and the amount of space that is needed by the resident. A model of determining factors and choices for location is presented. Central location is said to give the option of participating in urban activities, while suburban location is held to provide open space and a closer proximity to nature. These two factors are presented as major determinents in choice of residential location. (ML)

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RESIDENTIAL LOCATION AS A MODE OF CONSUMPTION: A TIME-GEOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE - The 'Project' Concept

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RESIDENTIAL LOCATION AS A MODE OF CONSUMPTION: A TIME-GEOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE - The 'Project' Concept*

ABSTRACT

Trading off accessibility demand and space consumption underlines the decision rules for residential relocation. A choice model for conditioned consumption modes by spatial location is presented. 'Projects' of consumption of privately owned open space by suburbanites are compared with 'projects' of participation of urbanites in cultural activities.

These two modes of consumption are the components of selection justification for a central location or a suburban location choice. Central location is associated with the real option for participation in urban ambiance. Suburban location choice promotes the convergence of intangible symbols of proximity to micronature with tangible privately-owned open space. This comparison employs the time-geographic perspective.

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RESIDENTIAL LOCATION AS A MODE OF CONSUMPTION: A Time-Geographic Perspective

"La meilleure: dans la vie quotidienne, chacun entre en contact avec le monde humain deja realise, avec les objects innombrables produits dans des lieux lointains ou caches (les ateliers, les usines) et qui deviennent des biens; l'ensemble de ces biens s'offre aux convoitises et stimule les desirs; tels ou tels d'entre eux se refusent et restent inaccessibles."

Henri Lefebvre, Introduction a la psycho-sociologie de la vie quotidienne, 1960

INTRODUCTION

The literature on intra-urban migration, residential location, spatial choice and preferences has not addressed several issues related to (a) derivatives of housing morphology as facilitators of consumption, primarily during non-workhours, compared to such spatial movements as the journey-to-work and shopping trips, both of which deal with consumption behaviour while the residential location is a geographic reference point. The origin-destination model and these two spatial movements were adequately conceptualized and extensively tested empirically. The implications of residential location on (b) extraction of indivisibilities from high amenity settings is another consumption-related topic largely unexplored. The following issues have been accepted as given or analyzed with relatively little social, behavioural and existential concern. Here, I refer to (c) the social practice of consuming, some specificities of leisure pursuits, and in particular, (d) the dimension of intangibilities of residential choice as surrogates of housing demand. To search for the diffuse potential for satisfaction of broader human-social needs without engagement in a proactive strategy of behaviour is to search for intangibil-

ities of various residential choice alternatives. In the same vein, I include (e) the dialectics of individual bahaviours and the social commitment to social norms or the intentional following of the conventional way. Again, this is a central issue in the realm of consumption, more specifically, the consumer's competence to achieve a larger share of tangibilities and intangibilities while acting as an economic agent in the housing market. This issue is, like the previous ones, rarely addressed and as a result little explored.

This paper, however, intends to readdress all five issues and to present the benefit that the time-geographic perspective might offer when a purposive research goal is the analysis of the 'project' concept in a specific theoretical context, such as residential location as a mode of consumption.

HOUSING CONSUMPTION

Housing has specific properties as an economic good, most of which reflect the high potential of investment in real estate; but, on the other hand, property as a mode of value exchange is a highly constrained one. As a complex product and a non-standard commodity, housing has high exogenous sensitivity and has to compete with other investment alternatives which are less dependent on money supply or local markets. Durability implies the long term investment in a commodity which has a long life-path (life span) as a physical facility. Inflexibility refers to the slow response of the housing stock to changing demands. The housing market is separated from the housing production industry; thus, the market of substitutes, i.e., the submarket for used housing and the submarket for new housing operate simultaneously, and both are inflexible (Adams & Gilder, 1976). As a non-standard product, price

varies by the unique characteristics of each dwelling unit, its age and its relative location. Immobility refers to the fact that houses are permanently attached to sites, and no separability exists between the residential unit and the neighborhood setting or its relative location. Improvements in situ are indivisible from the housing unit, as are other spatial externalities or dis-improvements in the contingent environment (Bourne, 1976).

All these properties imply a necessity for continuous in-flow of services to provide livable conditions, as well as out-flow of services to vacate and reallocate space for new consumer goods and services. The immobility is crucial in terms of the design process of residents' prism in time and space; numerous prisms overlap, others do not, but all are subservient to the potential of the urban system supply network. The imperatives of such properties suggest a continuous examination of what the current housing offers, such as space size versus space requirement, or neighborhood upkeep standards versus household expectation level in this domain, or the trip generation pattern derived from the residential relative location in the urban social space and the distribution of various facilities used recurrently. All together construe the spatial movement of everyday life.

New demands are created when needs do not meet the current housing offerings. Household members, primarily a few decision makers, are engaged in design of a new 'project', namely, the subjective redefinition of reality based on re-evaluation of the importance of the existing social network in situ. As an 'activity bundle' they specify new goals for accommodation to a reality in which strain prevails, or re-examine cost functions of relocation strategies to include the search cost. Duration of residence as cumulative pull factor is retested while collective housing needs versus individual household member needs are reconsidered. A relocation decision might be taken in favor of the liberation of

previously suppressed travel demand generated by the young, the housewife or even the head of household. Most initiations to relocate are end-products of 'projects' of re-evaluation of consumption pattern of metropolitan households. In fact, most relocations are corrective moves oriented to redress unsatisfactory choice attributes in the realm of consumption, choices resumed by a 'project' constituted in a different point of time and at a different place, or at a different point of time but at the same place. New residential location alternatives are perceived to incorporate new satisfying potentials of the redefined consumption demand. Furthermore, engagement in relocation involves engagement in large 'projects' of design of new life styles as a preparatory stage to the extraction of indivisibilities accompanied by different morphologies of housing and different residential location considered as operative alternatives in one's search space.

My focus on residential location and consumption is subdue to several a priori delimitations: (a) consumption domain deals solely with leisure consumption by the middle class, and (b) the chosen target population includes only single-house residents in suburban communities and tenants or apartment dwellers in urban neighborhoods of a large metropolis.

LEISURE BEHAVIOUR: THE QUEST OF PLEASURE SEEKERS

I. The Urban Sphere

While various illusions are associated with the large city, nobody questions its exclusive dominance as a center for the production and consumption of culture. This dominance maintains, though other domains of urban activity have been relocated to the suburbs quite successfully. Urban entertainment zone districts are accessible, and most are close to the downtown commercial centers. They centralize activities of cultural institutions, such as museums, opera houses, art galleries, symphony orchestras, dance

companies, amateur theater and professional repertory theater, public fairgrounds, amusement parks, organized sports, bright-light streets, night life and specialized leisure cultures. The cosmopolitan clientele manifests enthusiastically the maintenance of public interest in creation of a social world where modes of new sensations are generated and reproduced. A pleasure seeker chooses options for escalation of wants, such as concerts, theaters and restaurants (Kornblum & Williams, 1978). The spiral of commodity consumption differs substantially from the cultural consumption and the stimulation potential of the urban atmosphere. Practice and appreciation of art involve recurrent participation, a mode of behaviour which is intentionally motivated; due to its qualitative standard of achievement it permits satiability, unlike the quantitative consumption of commodities (Barth, 1980; Stanfield & Stanfield, 1980).

Urban cultural leisure has its uniqueness, as an 'experience space', and is geographically restricted to the entertainment zone district. Leisure pursuit of cosmopolitan clientele is materialized by recurrent participation and physical presence, plus active initiation to re-experience the urban atmosphere. Attendance at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art shows each year that 23% of the visitors walk there from their apartments, 55% of the visitors come from Manhattan or adjacent communities, and only 22% are not residents of the metropolitan region (Kornblum & Williams, 1978, p. 74). Thus, an international art institute is used as a local resource. This evidence supports the thesis that demand for cultural amenities is high and is met when supply is high and diversified. A necessary condition of physical presence should obtain in order to benefit from the option of the cultural activities offered by various institutions in central cities. The indivisibility of high amenity settings is illustrated by the movement paths in FIG. 1 and in FIG 2. The various paths represent the need to be dislocated

in time and space in order to have the opportunity to experience temporal 'connectedness' to another social world, such as an entertainment zone district. The 'evening-path' of urbanites and of suburbanites is compared, and their journey-to-consume entertainment products is represented by movement possibilities in time and space oriented to consumption of cultural amenities in an urban setting (Lenntorp, 1978).

INSERT HERE FIG. 1

An unsatisfactory consumption pattern in terms of frequency of recurrent participation in entertainment districts might be redressed by a corrective move or relocation from the suburbs to a centrally located urban neighborhood. Thus the move would lead to enhancing the geographical proximity to options of excalation of wants and pleasure stimulation, redesign of one's leisure life style, and abandonment of 'projects' of prolonged journey-to-consume entertainment products in favour of time increase in active participation in 'projects' of urban atmosphere consumption in cultural outlets, as well as re-experiencing of the advantageous convergence of intentionality for a specific consumption pattern with the opportunity for materialization of a preferred mode of consumption.

II. The Suburban Sphere

The house morphology of single-house and low-rise construction permits and enforces consumption of extensive 'personal space', privately owned yard, the option of a private driveway and other unspecified fashions of privacy.

1945-68 was the period when the suburban ecology and the suburban way of life were extensively investigated and elaborately described as 'standardized' and 'homogenous.' The argument about a commer-

cialized life style addressed the ritual of shopping, the weekly round of housework, large socializing time-budgets, relaxation activity, domestic togetherness, car dependence, tennis courts and other personally satisfying activities, promoted by heavy investment in advertising and sale promotion of consumer goods corporations, which in turn created consuming conformity, unified tastes and the many imitations that a 'mass society' connotes (Greenberg, 1980; Ewen, 1977).

During the 70s there was a vigorous remodeling of the dynamics of suburban life style. The middle-class rejection of the suburban stereotype was manifested by the spread of 'consciousness raising' groups and active political participation including the human potential movement, 'no-growth' ideology, the environmental protection movement, the women's liberation movement and counter cultures. The targets of new attention were the family power structure, the natural environment, resource scarcity, minorities, female participation in the labor force, privacy encroachment by technology, etc. The social ferment still exists, and the assessment of ecological implications of the remodeled suburban stereotype is waiting for the 1980 census analysis of relocation data in SMSAs (Bradbury, Downs and Small, 1980; Coleman, 1977).

The change in suburban culture is accompanied by greater tolerance of diverse life styles, further extension of suburbia on the roads and beyond the metropolitan region itself, recreational vehicle boom, rise in second-home ownership as a manifestation of a universal suburbanization (Kornblum & Williams, 1978, pp. 87-89) and a remarkable increase in the demand for resort areas or regional and national parks.

Intangibilities of the suburban life style will be addressed in the following paragraphs. Here I will focus on the movement path of urbanites raising demand for outdoor activities and suburbanites raising demand for urban cultural amenities.

INSERT HERE FIG. 2

The supply of leisure opportunities in the urban and suburban areas of the metropolis is almost mutually exclusive, although substitutes exist. (In older major cities of the U.S. we find central parks; certainly, this is the case with all European capital cities. Suburban communities have developed local entertainment districts and cultural institutions as a focus for identification and community pride.) The generation of 'projects' of consumption which is materialized via journey-to-consume entertainment products such as spacious outdoors or urban cultural amenities, differentiates between subpopulations of every metropolitan region. The options of leisure life style are derivatives from the decision on residential location. Although households trade off the size of income elasticities for housing expenditure, the marginal propensity to spend on housing varies greatly. We remain ill-informed on cross-elasticities between different household budget items (Bourne, 1976).

The morphology of single-houses facilitates the consumption of privately owned open space, extensive personal space and privacy. The morphology of apartments in central locations facilitates the extraction of indivisibilities from high amenity settings derived from accessibility and walking distance separation between various points compounded in the urbanite's prism and action space.

Consumers enact their competence to consume in the housing market when they are engaged in 'projects' of search and in 'projects' of final selection; and more important, in justification of the final choice by awareness of the efficiency of consumption, in design, and in satisfaction, as in remodeling of consumption patterns when attitudes change. Arational consumption patterns prevail although 'projects' of rationalization of consumption direct spending and savings policies on the household level.

Arational consumption signifies consumer failure to explore and adopt appropriate modes for minimization of waste of time and resources by re-organization of spatial activities, an equally important factor for satisfaction with consumption pattern, often resolved by a corrective move. The discussion of intangibilities will address several pull factors impeding relocations oriented to rationalize housing and leisure consumption.

SOCIAL PRACTICE OF CONSUMING

We are concerned with a practical philosophy - materialist in the proper sense, that deals with aspects of housing and leisure consumption as strategic management employed by metropolitan households. The role of background imagery, subjective concern for quality and good judgement are at stake. Arational consumption modes and consumption directed toward the subliminal reaches of human orientations are adopted and routinized as behavior practices to reaffirm sharing an abundant life. As a scheme of values, consumption of goods represents the existence of wealth and norms of consumption functioning as mechanisms to envision dimensions of affluence. The habituation of consumption contains the value of 'more' while 'fixation' on commodity consumption becomes a source of satisfaction with a quantitative orientation towards an unambiguous increase in well-being. Acquisition strategy is applied as a mode of preservation of high purchasing power; for example, investment in durable goods and real estate have a clear future orientation.

As Marx addressed the perversive influence of money-making and the mystification of the world of objects, he simultaneously projected commodity fixation and commodity fetishism to dominate the mature stage of capitalism (Marx, 1964; 1967). The social milieu of the Western society in its post-industrial phase is saturated by equation of all needs with commodity needs (Stanfield & Stan-

field, 1980). The intensification of invidiousness and habituation is grounded in the desire of everyone to exceed everyone else in accumulation of goods, motivated by the unstable and insatiable properties of invidiousness (Veblen, 1953). The invidious comparison mobilizes efforts to keep up appearances and to strive to achieve intangibilities associated with imitation of behaviour of one's reference group, or the reference group perceived to be appropriate. Residential location is a preeminent example of a tangible option to extract intangibilities from a contingent social environment noted by a higher standard of living.

Consumption is time-consuming (Linder, 1970), and more consumption increases the scarcity of time allocated to consume well. Consumption frequency is a pseudo-indicator of consumption quality.

On the relation of consumption patterns (structure) and attributes of social paractice of consuming, I will specify decisions to change existing consumption 'projects', pretesting new products, temporal relocations, new memberships in associations and initiation of new projects of leisure activity. Engagement in 'starting' up new consumption projects, such as skiing, biking, weaving or playing the harp, is associated with a flow of cycling experiences, sequential stages of commitment formation, re-examination of the accumulating craft knowledge, and identification of distinction in satisfaction levels by comparison of present consumption projects with previous ones, interrupted or considered to be renewed -- an interplay of reflections with sensations.

The dialectics of more consumption for consuming more is as follows: "people exert themselves to secure a given income and consumption level, only to find they are dissatisfied with it. Cut off from many avenues to fulfillment, they identify welfare with commodities and redouble their efforts to secure income. This further strains their time resources diminishing their competence in the art of living" (Stanfield & Stanfield, 1980, p. 448).

The social practice of this dialectics might reach the subconscious or subliminal level to generate initiative for the restructuration of the various consumption projects one is engaged in. This stage of intervention in the routinized life style echoes the rejuvination of previous experiences and the establishment of an actor status - a 'beginner' of a mind to and predisposed to adopt an innovation or to invent originally. The role of familiarity in experiencing a re-experienced event mirrors the Internal-External dialectics (Pred, 1981).

INTANGIBILITIES OF HOUSING CONSUMPTION CHOICES

Extraction of intangibilities from spatial choices and preference of housing consumption patterns are efficacious for two modes of consumer behaviour:

Non-self-centered mode of behaviour:

(a) affiliation need satisfaction and social space choice;
(b) attitude formation, change and conformity to consumption norms.

Self-centered mode of behaviour:

(a) itinerancy of aspiration paths: prestige search and moderation of invidiousness;
(b) self actualization and individualization: aesthetic and privacy consumption.

The non-self-centered mode of behaviour deals with sources of gregariousness, interaction of one's 'extended self' with others and with social institutions. The self-centered mode of behaviour refers to human actions oriented to individual growth and development of the so-called 'limited self.'

We are interested in the merits offered by housing morphology and residential location and their relevance to the satisfaction of the above mentioned needs. Consumers are efficient in extraction

of intangibilities when they calculate the return on externalities indivisible from housing morphology and residential location as consumer goods. Some of the broader needs of consumers can be satisfied only by a specific residential location choice. This is the case with social prestige, while associational gains are extracted from the physical presence of others of prominent recognition. Privacy, on the other hand, is an outcome of withdrawal permitted by the physical topology of one's housing morphology.

I. Non-self-centered Mode of Behaviour

(a) Affiliation need satisfaction and social space choice.

The drive for self evaluation has implications for the processes of formation of groups and changing membership of groups. Self evaluation is an important source for affiliative behaviour, to the extent that it can only be accomplished by means of comparison with other persons, enhancing one's interest in belonging to groups and associating with others in order to satisfy such needs as approval, support, friendship and prestige (Schacter, 1959). Although the subject of self evaluation is the 'limited self', the set of comparable objects is one's social space. Interaction and integration processes are involved in the development of 'sense of place.' As Lenz-Romeiss wrote, "Groups, through social interaction, erect values and norms. Values and norms integrate a group. They manifest themselves in the form of symbols. Symbols are (material) objects possessing social significance. They make our environment easier for us to grasp. Understanding the symbols integrates a person into the social context from which they are drawn. Symbols agglomerate in communication processes. Wherever local symbols agglomerate in place-related communication, the local environment becomes structured. Participants in place-related communication become integrated into the local social context. Integration is a form of attachment to place" (Lenz-Romeiss, 1973, pp. 44-45), (italics mine).

Residential location choice implies the selection of one's social space in the urban milieu. As such, it promotes consumption of the intangible social image of the residents of the objective social space (Buttimer, 1969; 1972).

(b) Attitude formation, change and conformity to consumption norms.

It is plausible to argue that the decision to relocate and the direction of the move are both heavily influenced by attitude content. Empirical testing of this argument showed that "the best predictors of where and what families move to are income and race...the worst predictors of movement parameters are age of household head, attitudinal indices of familism, style of consumerism, urban versus suburban orientation, social mobility commitments and the household's attitude about the importance of neighborhood for social mobility. Yet, age and attitude remain important for prediction why families move" (Adams & Gilder, 1976, pp. 183-184).

Conformity to consumption norms is manifested by continuation of uncritical acceptance of the scale of conventional values generated and provided ready-made, reconciliation of inner inconsistencies by avoidance of critical evaluation, and a constant striving to attain the more decorous standards of a higher social class (Stanfield & Stanfield, 1980). The desire for a particular life style or standard of living is motivated by the need to evidence one's belonging to society or a given rank within it. Norms of consumption are learned and emulation of reference group or outdoing peer groups are deliberate guidelines for remodeling habituation. Judgment of needs vis-a-vis the available range of commodities is blurred by advertising information selling an American way of life.

Intangibilities of housing morphology and residential location might facilitate the conformity with consumption norms and the imitation of a perceived potential reference group.

II. Self-Centered Mode of Behaviour

(a) Itinerancy of aspiration paths: prestige search and moderation of invidiousness.

Ostentatious living quarters are a good example of intangibilities extracted by residential location choice (Timms, 1976). Seekers of power image and consumers of 'illusion of control' are candidates for imitation of conventional behaviour of other groups. The itinerancy of one's aspiration paths is somewhat steered by generic cultural conditioning, in time-geographic terms, the 'day-path' - 'life-path' dialectics, and by the flow of one's previous chain of experiences and choices, the 'internal-external' dialectics (Pred, 1981). Motivated behaviour might be directed toward interruption of the natural flow, usually pointed to discontinuation and up-ranking. Adoption of new consumption norms and the choice of a new social space might facilitate one's social mobility; if this is accomplished, amelioration of invidiousness might take place. Inconsistencies between the various components of status might generate strain while disclosures obtain.

(b) Self actualization and individualization: aesthetic and privacy consumption.

The 'aesthetic' is an important element in the process of individuals dealing with things encountered; it often supplies the thread of continuity that gives unity to a conception of a place and allows that conception to be socially shared. The physical landscape, as a complex of things encountered, plays a key role as a point of reference. By providing impressions, meaning comes about through action, and as such is integrated with sensation, communication, judgment and other components of experience. "In a dialectical manner, environmentally derived images, impressions, are consciously conceived, and are articulated and receive expression as they are communicated; such expressions lead to new images that act back upon the creator" (Kobayashi, 1980). The opportunities of aesthetic sensation and recurrent experience are

intangibilities of housing morphology and residential location. Scenery, wilderness and spectacular views might be encountered as subjects or as objects; residents' sensitivity to the 'aesthetic' may proact to materialize proximity to aesthetic features.

A related domain, though less subjective, is the one of privacy. The sociologically relevant approach to the question of how 'separation' subserves 'integration' - or how human beings are bound by taking leave of one another as well as by their coming together is through the analysis of privacy, which is a highly institutionalized mode of withdrawal. Privacy, as a scarce social commodity, admits of invisible transgression and therefore serves to maintain intact those rules which would be subverted by the public disobedience that might occur in its absence" (Schwartz, 1967). Privacy provides autonomy, freedom from public expectation; through privacy the ego escapes the dominion of the public order, only to subordinate itself to a new authority: the super ego? Artists and poets advocate the positive effect solitude has on their ability to create. Privacy has tangible dimensions as well as intangible ones, while the measurable size of one's 'personal space' is translated into the impression of extensive space consumption, isolation from the 'outer' world and full dominance of a contingent territory.

Contrasting the properties of single-family houses with apartments, we find the notion of privacy consumption is attached to the first type of housing morphology. Privacy might be consumed extensively in apartments when strategies of deliberate withdrawal and ignoring intrusions are applied (Fischer, 1973). Private driveway and private entrance are among the most appreciated characteristics of low-rise construction. Density and crowding are additional factors that distinguish the ecological structure of suburban communities from urbar neighborhoods. An obvious derivative of privacy is anonymity, to be consumed extensively in urban settings.

Summing up the options of intangibles of housing morphology and residential location: the literature specifies the major motives for relocation to be related to unsatisfactory housing conditions, neighborhood-related problems or inconvenient location. Of equal importance is a new stage in family life cycle. Following the proposition that most relocations are in fact corrective moves designed to redress unsatisfactory consumption patterns, the search for intangibility consumption includes community involvement via selection of new social milieu, satisfying affiliation needs and the life style accompanying it, social prestige corresponding to one's job or community position, as well as material consumption outside the home in-city or at home in-suburbia (Moore, 1972).

The distinction between self-centered and non-self-centered behaviour is of relevance to the study of intangibility consumption, since housing morphology and residential location incorporate attributes of potential to satisfy both modes of behaviour, and a priority set might facilitate decisions of specific mix of choice attributes. Awareness of the existence of intangibilities and the option of their extraction might generate a more efficacious practice of consuming by redesigned 'projects' to be carried out during the non-work hours.

Consumers re-evaluate the return on intangibilities by assessing satisfaction levels from the existing life style. Changes might be designed in situ or directed toward relocation, but contact clusters might be the major pulling force as a residual of satisfied needs in situ, and neighborhood consciousness might enhance emotional liabilities to a place or to a unique dwelling unit.

CONCLUSIONS

The dialectical relations between individuals and the social setting where they conduct their everyday life is subsumed by the

dynamic nature of the convergence-divergence relations among the three dimensions of the existential triad in complex societies. These dimensions are presented briefly and in a schematic fashion, (for a comprehensive presentation see Lev-Ari, 1980b).

Dimension 1:

Intentionality - the motivation to orient self-centered and non-self-centered behaviour is stimulated by (a) conscious attention to situations (places) and to positions (time occurrence, duration, cessation), (b) cognitive appreciation of judgmental settings when individualized choices are not interchangeable, (c) affective involvement in the realm of sensation on behalf of subliminal authenticity, and satisfaction of the need for 'cognitive clarity' (Schachter, 1959) such as ethical, national and religious identity.

Dimension 2:

Potentiality or capability (interchangeable terms) - personal endowment to produce and consume.

Dimension 3:

Opportunity - the supply side generated by institutions, by the urban system, the regional economy, the national and global systems of production.

I will restrict the discussion to residential location as a mode of consumption. Therefore, the two dimensions of relevance are: opportunity and intentionality (potentiality to consume is held constant by choosing the target population to be middle-class suburbanites and urbanites).

Opportunity: (a) residential location - urban versus suburban (b) housing morphology - single-family houses versus apartments. Each of these components offers tangible and intangible merits. The benefits of a time-georgraphic perspective is the way in which the mutual exclusiveness and the shared properties are manifested in space and time, i.e. the 'evening-path' of urbanites and suburbanites denotes the unescapable movement required for any temporal

'connectedness' to other social worlds. It enables the analysis of newly generated projects to face and resolve the gap of the diverging paths of 'opportunity' from 'intentionality' by suggestion and estimation of a corrective move versus adaptation through new projects in situ.

Intentionality: this dimension has two time components, (a) generic, or past cultural conditioning roots, which should address issues of formative processes of specific preferences and choices (Lev-Ari, 1981), and (b) existential, or authentic present behaviour modes. Extraction of intangibilities for satisfaction of broader human-needs by consumption choices--this is the core of our paper. Great strain prevails when intentionality diverges from opportunity, and actualization of idealic states or materialization of tangible objects is denied. An antithetical situation is the convergence of intentionality and opportunity. This is the case of metropolitan residents who have a salient preference set in the consumption sphere, and a real option to extract intangibilities from the supply system, on its ecological 'place utility.'

Intervention in habituation and routinized behaviour is expected to occur by initiation of new activity 'projects' to be carried out in other time/space constellations, the same time at a different place, or the same place at a different time. Consumer's competence to extract intangibilties is contingent on actualization of his intentionality to satisfy needs while his specific choice of residential location and housing morphology safeguard the realm of opportunities.

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FIGURE CAPTIONS

Figure 1: Time and Space Movements of Urbanites and Subrubanites engaged in Projects of Leisure Consumption. Day-path # 1 - a day-path of a suburbanite interrupted by a journey-to-work in the morning hours and a journey-to-consume entertainment products in the same day during the evening hours. Day-path # 2 and # 3 - urbanites enjoying the option of participation at cultural activities within the central city 'tube' of action. Day-path # 4 - is an 'evening-path' of suburbanites carring out leisure projects in the CBD.

Figure 2: Time and Space Movements of Urbanites and Suburbanites engaged in Projects of Leisure Consumption. Day-path # 1 and #2, # 7 and # 8 - suburbanites enjoying the option of outdoor consumption within the 'tube' of their residential environment. Day-path # 3 - an urbanite carries out a leisure project in an organized sport station in a nearby suburb. He generated a two-way leisure-trip in the evening hours. Day-path # 4 and # 5 - urbanites enjoying the option of a high amenity setting and various entertainment projects in the CBD. Day-path # 6 - urbanites carrying out a half-day leisure project in a regional park on a weekend.

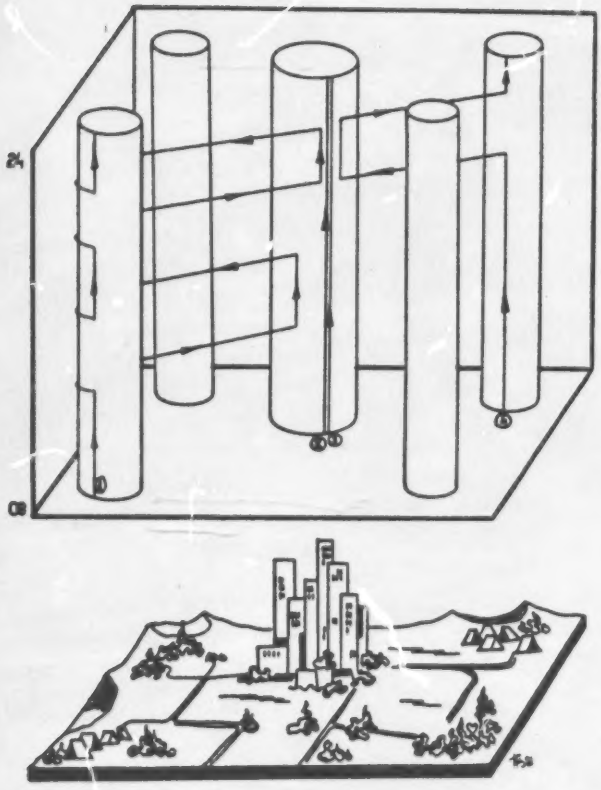

FIGURE 1

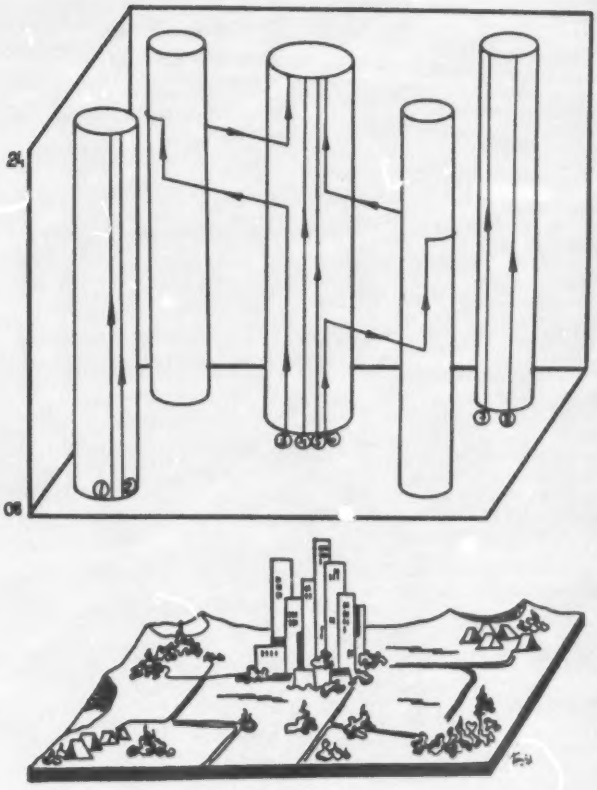

FIGURE 2